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- 171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
 • 221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
 771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
 796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. miho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
 221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
 241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
 796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
 177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
 221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
 184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Nandéva of southern Mato
 221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
 184 calendar: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year: this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

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221 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year. [249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts (manduf) are planted in January and harvested in July.

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221 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food" is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means

[434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind on their own clearings because they are working for money on the nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is aggravated by the changa in the yerbaes /stands of yerba maté/, [245] inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the 177 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the 182 white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former 241 without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural disintegration and detribalization of the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso.

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221 To the extent that a social and religious calendar exists, it is that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration of the Kemongarai, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatf-mongarai, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases, 243 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is 221 planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other [171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual harvests of maize (3).

249 /58/ Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrnkf or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová, including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick (takúá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar (yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out, and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste, a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an unlimited time. The technique of the Nandéva, according to the description that I obtained, is the same.

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222 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

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• [221] Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November and December through the open countryside where they camp under the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira, which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar factories.

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534 at Taquapiri, although Cayuá elsewhere, particularly those of the lower Paraná region, are quite familiar with these musical instruments, perhaps dating from Jesuit times.

THE ANNUAL ECONOMIC CYCLE

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*178 At the present time, the annual economic cycle for both men and women is almost completely adapted to the agricultural calendar. It is possible that the total male-female round of activity was not seasonal in the same way when men were responsible only for the cutting, burning, and clearing part of cultivation. This latter work has its season, of course, but we may well suppose that the rest of the year was not apportioned for the men in the same way as now.

The principal months of the growing season are October, November, December, January, and February, but the limits are not sharply defined. In 1943 several people had corn shoots up by September 17, although much of this was lost in an unexpected frost. This seasonal latitude is impressive to an ethnologist familiar with the crucial difference of a few days' or a week's growing time in some of the aboriginal agriculture of the United States. The Cayuá growing season is easily long enough for more than one planting in the same ground of several of the faster growing crops, including certain beans and even corn. Mishaps because of unseasonal frosts are rare with careful planning. But many Cayuá do not capitalise much upon the possibility of successive plantings, and probably none attempts it to the maximum. Because of a late or bad burning people are often late with their planting, and there is then not enough time left for growing a second crop in the same ground. Planting of slower crops like corn may start as early as the middle of August, and many Cayuá have beans, peanuts, and corn fairly well along by mid or late September. Potatoes, which are not as critical regarding the cold, may be planted as early as July. The agricultural potential, at least regarding the growing season, can thus be said to be more than adequate for Cayuá demands and ambitions at present.

August is in many ways as close as one can come to a general turning point for the beginning of the new agricultural year. From May to August are the months in which the Cayuá prefer to work in *chango*; they usually feel that they cannot let things go much later. Some preparatory work on their own *kokué* may be done in the meantime, however, even by the peons; and those who do not work as peons, of course, devote considerable time to their clearings during the months from May to August. Variation is quite marked from one individual to the next for the time of cutting and burning *kokué* and for planting the various crops, and therefore, of course, for ripening and harvest. Some people may already have had corn up a whole month while others are still burning their *kokué* preparatory to clearing. The different extent to which individuals engage in wage work for whites is one present cause of such individual differences of farming schedule.

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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Slashing activity preparatory to burning should be completed somewhat in advance of the end of the dry season, preferably by August. The trunks, limbs, and foliage of the cut vegetation will then be partly dried out in order to burn well. Sometimes the cutting for the coming season may start as early as April. But a surprising number of Cayuá are remiss in attending to their clearing activities in sufficient time to get a good burning. Thus there are complaints of rains which came before they should have and impeded the burning, and other similar difficulties. In 1943, some *kokué* were still being burned by October 19 while others already had beans and corn, and other plants, well above the ground.

During the agricultural months, which are, of course, the summer months, hunting is relegated by most Cayuá to occasional week-end trips. On these occasions the man may be absent for a day, or even only a half-day, roaming the woods and fields in search of game. At other times, except for an occasional morning or afternoon excursion, made perhaps when the weather is not right for work in the *kokué*, he will not be able to find sufficient time for hunting. Moreover, a man will use some of the time not needed in agriculture in some other way, such as craft work, repairs about the house, and the like. During the winter, there is more time for hunting, but then it is often bitterly cold for the light clothing the Cayuá wear.

The first fruits ceremony, marked by the "baptism" of new corn, usually comes in late January or February, but the entire harvest, including other crops, may well run from sometime before until sometime after the baptism. This community-sanctioned harvest, however, cannot be considered the termination of all agricultural activity for the year. The plants which the Cayuá say "have no season," notably manioc and sweet potatoes, are not necessarily harvested in the usual sense. They may be left in the ground and merely dug up and used as needed. This activity in some cases continues practically throughout the year, depending only on when the crops were sown.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURE, FISHING, AND HUNTING

While agriculture has benefited by acculturation in other ways, no large number of important new plants has been taken over. The crops aboriginally most important remain so still, but a few new plants have been adopted which are of some significance to the Cayuá. Among them are two types of sugar cane, widely grown as a delicacy and for addition (the juice) to *cáwé*. Certain kinds of beans, rice—which is so far grown by only a few—and several garden crops have also been adopted, such as onions and garlic.

The present Cayuá allege that one of their two main varieties of corn comes from the whites (that called *aBall iupé*, the hard or flint type), although this is not borne out by the botanical evidence.¹²³ Nevertheless, Cayuá usages

¹²³ Cutler, 1946, p. 280.

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/fn. 2 cont./ from the gorocotoquys to the paycunos two, and near them are the gurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbaya /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tsawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

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